Build a Labor Party Now!

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IS THIS THE YEAR OF THE CONSUMER?

(See Page 2)

Five Million May Lose Jobs By End of Year, CIO Warns

'Stop McCarthy' Plan in Congress Ends in Fiasco

By Murry Weiss

All the advertised plans to "stop McCarthy" at this session of Congress, by action of Democratic and Republican Congressmen are going down the drain one by one along with such items as election promises, and other idle jests.

The same fate has befallen the hopeful rumors (most of them deliberately planted by Democratic and Republican chiefs) that McCarthy is developing new interests, and will dismount his red-hunting hobby horse.

We are witnessing a dismal farce in Congress, with the McCarthyite fascist bloc entrenching its positions, riding roughshod over even the hint of opposition, and the braggadocio of the anti-McCarthyite politicians ringing hollow echoes against the solid wall of congressional reaction.

Here are some of the outstanding developments in the "stop McCarthy" fiasco:

(1) We have already reported that McCarthy was placed on the powerful Senate Rules Committee, as one of the first measures of "putting him in his place." The Rules committee has jurisdiction over financing Senate Investigating activities. Now it is reported that the Democrats have dropped their plan to cut off McCarthy's committee finances, and he will retain the same $200 000 allocation of last year . . . for a starter.

(2) In line with his tactic of harassing the Republican high command with flank attacks, McCarthy struck at Arthur H. Dean, Eisenhower's special envoy to Korea, through Sen. Welker (R. Idaho) one of McCarthy's stooges. Dean was given the red smear treatment by Welker because of his former association with the Institute of Pacific Relations of Lattimore fame. Dean was also a former partner in a law firm with Secretary of State Dulles. McCarthy has been stalking Dulles for some time and has him marked for the "full treatment" any time he wants to put extraordinary heat on Eisenhower.

(3) Far from turning away from his central demagogic theme, the "red menace," McCarthy has intensified it. His hearings on the Harvard professors, with its shrill hysteria against "Fifth Amendment Communists," was up to McCarthy's best rabble-rousing performances.

And now he has moved back to Boston to deepen his attack on the trade unions. In between violently throwing out critics and unfriendly witnesses from the hearing chambers, "the Senator several times praised the General Electric management for its new employment policy under which persons who invoked the Fifth Amendment before Congressional committees would be deprived of their jobs. He said the names of the witnesses who did so today would be referred to General Electric 'so they may be stricken from the employment rolls'." N. Y. Times, Jan. 17.)

(4) The climax to the whole series of wretched fiascos was the "fight" over the appointment of McCarthy's man, Robert E. Lee, to the Federal Communications Committee. Lee is responsible for the free $300,000 radio-TV time McCarthy got on Nov. 24. Lee's wife was matron of honor at the fascist Senator's wedding. The Democrats created a great storm about the Lee-FCC scandal. Everything was set for a big battle on this issue.

Now hear the liberal Democratic N. Y. Post on what happened: "Democratic Senate leaders have decided to look the other way while the McCarthy wing

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Ford Local 600 Warns Labor On Velde's Invasion of Detroit

By Manuel Rodriguez

A major test of strength between labor and McCarthyism is looming in Detroit. Velde's House Un-American Committee has issued subpoenas in the auto center for hearing opening Jan. 25. The Un-American Committee took a beating from the San Francisco Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union when they organized a 24-hour protest strike and mass demonstration Dec. 3 against the Committee's anti-union witch hunting.

Humiliated and enraged by the San Francisco episode, Velde is returning to the scene of the Un-American Committee's triumphs in February-March 1952. The labor-hating Committee hopes to refurbish its shattered reputation as an unbeatable witch-hunting machine, try once more to split the Detroit unions, stir up a fresh wave of witch-hunting hysteria, and set the stage for a union-busting campaign against the UAW-CIO.

The General Council of Ford Local 600, the largest local of the UAW-CIO, unanimously passed a resolution on Jan. 11, warning that the Velde hearings "will be used to attack organized labor."

The resolution referred to the "small but influential and vociferous group in this country advocating and fomenting a form of reactionary dictatorship."

It scored red-baiting as "the principal propaganda weapon of these reactionaries."

It cited Arthur B. Eisenhower, a brother of the President, who characterized McCarthy as "the most dangerous menace to America" and said, "When I think of McCarthy, I automatically think of Hitler."

Most important of all, the resolution called upon the International Executive Board to "hold meetings and use all other means of publicity available to aquaint the community with the evils of these investigating committees."

WHAT WILL LABOR DO?

What course will the Detroit unions take in the face of this new invasion of the anti-labor witch-hunting Committee? Will it run as it did in March 1952, suffering defeat, or will it fight and rout the would-be union busters as the San Francisco Longshoremen did in Dec. 1953? A great deal depends on what answer the Detroit unions give to this question. McCarthyism can be dealt a powerful blow or it can gain a crucial victory, depending on what the unions do in Jan. 1954 in Detroit.

Detroit is a key center of the labor movement. It has one of the most dynamic working class forces in the U.S., a working class that paced the whole CIO movement in the Thirties and in the 1945-46 strike wave. For that reason, anti-labor forces have long tried to foster a strong fascist contingent in Detroit. Recently, the notorious fascist demagogue, Coughlin, has come out of a long period of silence and opened a demagogic bid for support to his fascist pretensions.

A repetition, by Reuther of his disgraceful performance of 1952 would have dangerous consequences. This year the lynch

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Fascist Union-Busters

Senator McCarthy (left) and Rep. Velde, America's chief witch-hunters, are turning their attacks on the unions. McCarthy has held smear hearings of workers in General Electric. GE is firing workers who stand on their constitutional rights at McCarthy's inquisitions. Velde is invading Detroit, CIO auto union stronghold.

Phila. Workers Reject Red-baiting To Vote for UE

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 15 — In a resounding answer to red-baiting, a great majority of the workers at the key Westinghouse plant here gave a sweeping five-to-one victory to independent United Electrical Workers Local 107 over the CIO International Union of Electrical Workers in an NLRB election yesterday. IUE-CIO leaders had tried to discredit the UE with red-baiting attacks.

McCarthy's smear of unionists in the General Electric plant at Lynn, Mass., which resulted in the firing of these workers, raised considerable comment here and played a role in the outcome of the elections. The workers carefully observed each union's attitude toward McCarthyism.

While the UE took a vigorous stand against McCarthy, the IUE officials generally remained silent. It was especialy noted that the IUE, which represents the Lynn workers, took no steps to defend McCarthy's victims. In its campaign, the IUE-CIO used the government witch hunt as a pretext for claiming that the workers' jobs were endangered as long as their union was led by "Communist-dominated" officials.

MILITANT RECORD

UE Local 107, on the other hand, could point to model conditions in the plant for this area, won during its long history of militant struggle. Conditions in IUE shops in the area, however, have suffered deterioration in the past few years.

Local 107 faces the problem of consolidating its forces to confront the company with a solid membership front. The company has been trying to nibble away conditions. The fight to protect conditions is more difficult because of threatening layoffs. **The slogan of the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay now takes on real meaning.**

Labor Must Mobilize To Repel Offensive on Its Living Standards

By Joseph Keller

The CIO warns that unemployment "might increase to more than 4 or 5 million by the end of 1954." This forecast is made in the CIO Economic Outlook. In a Jan. 13 letter to Eisenhower, CIO President Walter Reuther said that by early December the number of unemployed had already reached 3,250,000. We estimate the jobless now at more than 4 million.

WALTER REUTHER

Even the Jan. 18 Wall Street Journal concedes that "unemployment will rise considerably above 3 million persons this year" in the opinion of most economists. How much above this figure the Journal itself does not venture to guess.

One thing is certain. The capitalist economy is on the way down and no "self-corrective" has come into sight to halt the decline.

OUTPUT ON DOWNGRADE

Production has been steadily on the downgrade since last July. Output should expand four to five per cent a year merely to allow for the normal growth of the population and labor force.

The Federal Reserve Board's index of factory and mine output dropped 7 points between July 1953 and November — from 137 to 130. On Jan. 14, Eisenhower's own Council of Economic advisers informed him "preliminary indications are that there was a further small contraction" of production in December. December's figures "probably took the index two or three percentage points lower, or perhaps even more," reports Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the N. Y. World-Telegram. The first half of January has seen a still further drop.

This means that industrial output has declined 7% or more from the July peak. This already exceeds the percentage of decline predicted last month by the majority of capitalist economists.

But the worst is yet to come. If the economic forecasters find it hard to agree on how high unemployment figures will climb, "they have no such trouble in pinpointing the industries and the areas most likely to be affected by future cuts in orders — and jobs," states the Wall Street Journal. "They mention specifically the durable goods manufacturers — makers of autos, military hardware, steel, heavy industrial machinery, machine tools, railroads and farm equipment. . ." The road is down for the basic industries on which the economic system most depends.

The situation of the weakest

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Propaganda Network Plugs McCarthy's Line

By Harry Ring

A gigantic propaganda network is operating for Senator Joseph McCarthy, the would-be American Hitler. The center of this network is Facts Forum, which conducts programs carried by over 500 radio and 80 TV stations. McCarthy was the first guest star to appear on Facts Forum.

Facts Forum is the special baby of H. L. Hunt, fabulously rich Texas oil man and drum beater for McCarthy. According to the Providence Journal-Bulletin's recent slashing expose, Hunt uses Facts Forum as a megaphone for his contention that "the Democratic Party, except for the Dixiecrat movement, is the instrument of socialism and Communism in this country, and that the Republican Party, as presently constituted, displays dangerously radical tendencies."

As a self-styled "non-political educational" project and "public service," Facts Forum receives more than a million dollars worth of free time from TV and radio networks.

Facts Forum also sponsors local forum organizations, with a claimed participation of 125,000. In Manhattan, the first meeting of such a forum was addressed by Allen Zoll, leader of the fascist organization, American Patriots, Inc. **He declared that the "UN is a device to permit the colored races to rule the white races."**

To further spread its propaganda, Facts Forum pays people who succeed in getting letters "to the editor" published in the local press. The Journal-Bulletin found that Facts Forum had paid out $3,630 for "isolationist, or anti-UN or pro-McCarthy" letters planted in newspapers.

Facts Forum also operates a "circulating library." One of the original library books, withdrawn after protests, was one by Joseph Kamp, who says, "I pull no punches in exposing the Jewish Gestapo or any Jew who happens to be a Jew."

Hunt denies any direct connection between Facts Forum and McCarthy, but, according to the Journal-Bulletin, "half (its) basic program . . . is devoted to his (McCarthy's) philosophy," plugging his speeches or putting on speakers who put McCarthy "alongside Paul Revere"

McCarthy's propaganda network will now receive added strength with the almost certain approval by the U.S. Senate, of Robert E. Lee, whom Eisenhower appointed on McCarthy's recommendation to the powerful Federal Communications Commission. One of the originators of Facts Forum, Lee denied to a Senate hearing that he is under McCarthy's thumb. **But he readily boasted: "Senator McCarthy is a friend of mine. I like him. I think he's a great guy."**

RAILROAD BROTHERHOOD PAPER SCORES WIRE-TAP PROPOSAL

The witch-hunting drive of the Eisenhower Administration to legalize wire tapping was condemned in the Jan. 16 issue of Labor, newspaper of the powerful Railroad Brotherhoods, as a potential "strike breaking instrument" and a new step towards the creation of a "police state" in America.

"No free people submit to a 'police state' all at once," says Labor in its lead editorial. "It creeps up on them step by step, until it becomes powerful enough to crush protests. The time to stop it is when it first shows its ugly head."

Pointing out that wire tapping is all ready widely used by the government, in flagrant violation of the Federal Comunications Act, and dismissing the contention that the legalization of wire tapping is necessary for spy-hunting, Labor points out that "Once wire tapping is legalized for one purpose, it will be used for another purpose."

PAST EXPERIENCE

Labor recalls bitter past experience to show that in the end such things as wire tapping are turned against the unions. "Railroad workers remember how Attorney General Harry Daugherty, who held the same job under Harding as Brownell does under Eisenhower, used his power to smash the rail shopmen's strike and to help the corrupt 'Ohio Gang' take over the government.

"What then, if the Brownell bill passes, is to stop agents of some future Daugherty listening in on the telephones of railroad unionists — or of any unionists involved in a strike? It's not a far step for wire tapping to become a strikebreaking instrument."

JOBLESS TOTAL NEARS '49 RECESSION PEAK

By Art Preis

Last week I wrote that "there are now not less than four million jobless and the total is mounting rapidly." I stand by that statement. New evidence is piling up that the government is systematically falsifying unemployment figures.

In order to arrive at a figure of only 1,850,000 unemployed as of Dec. 12, 1953, the government had to "lose" 2,120,000 workers from the total labor force in a period of five months. This was during a year when the population grew by 2,700 000.

Washington is expected to admit more than two million unemployed in its forthcoming figures for the early part of January. That means a million increase within the past three months. But the real total of jobless is easily double the official statistics.

AN IMPORTANT CLUE

We get a clue to the true state of affairs from the figures on unemployment compensation payments. In past years these payments have run in the neighborhood of less than half of those actually out of work and desiring jobs.

The number of unemployment compensation payments in the first 11 days of January totalled 1,815,000. This compares with 1,027,000 for the same period in 1953.

The present total is close to the post-World War II high of 1,848,000 in the spring of 1950, just before the Korean war began. But when the latter figure on unemployment insurance payments was reached in June 1950, there were 3,384,000 unemployed out of a total civilian labor force of 64,866,000, according to the government's own very conservative estimate at the time.

Although the U.S. population has increased by more than 10 million since the census of April 1950 and the normal annual growth of the labor force is estimated at a minimum of 700,000, the U.S. Dept. of Commerce claims its count on last Dec. 12 showed a total labor force of only 62,614,000, compared to 64 866,000 just before the Korean War.

"DISAPPPEARING ACT"

This is a decline in the labor force of 2,252,000 workers in three and a half years — the very period when the population was rising by 6%. That's a "disappearing act" even a Houdini would envy.

REUTHER'S REPORT

Walter Reuther, President of both the CIO and United Automobile Workers, in his recent letter to Eisenhower warning of a "full blown depression if vigorous action is not taken quickly," gave the CIO economists' estimate of "actual unemployment" in early December — before the post-Christmas big layoffs — at about 3,250,000.

The CIO leader noted that in addition to the 1,850,000 workers "officially reported unemployed" last month, there were another

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Rising Hazard of Atom-Bomb Poisoning

On January 8 the Atomic Energy Commission announced plans for "a further phase of a continuing series of weapons tests of all categories" in the Pacific. The press reports that "probably hydrogen weapons" will be used and that the "greatest Hydrogen explosion may be produced."

The consequences of these test explosions on the health of this and future generations has been a matter of grave concern to a section of the medical profession — the doctors and scientists who are not totally muzzled by military censorship. Periodic reports have leaked into the papers and radio newscasts of alarming radioactive phenomena resulting from atomic bomb explosions.

Frank Edwards, AFL radio news commentator has conducted a vigorous campaign against irresponsible and ambiguous replies of government sources to these alarming evidences of dangerous radioactive phenomena. **Last year he reported, for example, that a storm deposited radioactive hailstones on city streets. Such hailstones, if placed in the mouths of children, could cause severe illness and death.**

SHOCKING RESULT

Edwards refused to accept the "assurances" of "authorities" that "all was well." He reported to his radio audience that he made an independent investigation and came up with a shocking result: There is no foundation for the "assurances." He couldn't find a single responsible agency or individual which has made a study of the question, assorted the data available and could honestly say that there is no danger to health in the tests that have been run in the Pacific and in Nevada.

Recently the Atomic Energy Commission, in response to such protests as Edwards' and recurrent waves of apprehension induced by authentic reports of unusual radioactive phenomena, said: "The highest levels of radioactivity released (by bombs) are well below the very conservative standards fixing the amounts of radiation that can be received internally or externally by the human body without harming the present or later generations."

However, on the same day (Jan. 8) that the AEC released its announcement of the plans for H-Bomb test explosions (timed incidentally to coincide with the Dulles-Soviet talks on peaceful use of atomic energy) the London office of the N. Y. Times reported: "A radioactive particle may have traveled from an atomic bomb exploded by the Soviet Union or the United Sattes to a photographic plate in Britain after having passed through the inside of an animal in India." The current issue of the British science periodical, Nature, in an article by Dr. Herman Yagoda traces the probability of this fantastic chain of nuclear events. The poisonous particle may have settled on a blade of grass. Eaten by the animal, it eventually lodged in a bone.

The Times article says: "The affair has impressed scientists here with the possibility of long-term health hazards inherent in nuclear explosions." Thus the "reassuring" statement of the AEC, quoted above, is put in question by medical authorites in Britain. If it can happen to a cow in India, it can happen to a human being anywhere.

INVESTIGATION NEEDED

In our opinion it is of urgent importance that a truly scientific and objective investigation be made. Perhaps Einstein can be enlisted to head the project together with a competent medical authority in whom the public has confidence. Government funds should be allocated to cover all necessary expenditures. **And until such an investigation is concluded, and a public report has been made, no further military tests should be permitted.**

This is a problem that should come up for swift action in the current session of Congress. Such action could prevent irreparable harm. Is there a single congressman sufficiently concerned over the welfare of humanity and his own family to risk the displeasure of the military brass and the McCarthyite mob by taking the initiative?

If there isn't, and we have our doubts that one can be found, isn't it up to the labor movement to follow up the excellent campaign of Frank Edwards and begin demanding that such an investigation be authorized and launched at once?

The Year Of the Consumer

By Joyce Cowley

This is the season for economic forecasts. Every business expert, financial wizard, commentator and columnist tells you what to expect the next twelve months. This year the predictions are not particularly cheerful. The most optimistic say there will be three and a half million unemployed, but add reassuringly that recession is a normal condition, restoring wholesome competition.

There's one columnist who is not down in the mouth. Miss Sylvia Porter writes enthusiastically about the coming year. "It will be the year of the consumer," she says. "You will be rediscovered by industry, you will be wooed by merchants, you will be pursued by salesmen. Taxes, prices, supplies, quality, research, competition, advertising, salesmanship — all are moving in your favor."

I'm a consumer, to the maximum limit that my income and credit will allow, so I was happy to learn that there are such wonderful things ahead for me. I hopefully checked the details of her report.

(1) **Taxes** — "The family of four at the $8,000 level will have $91 more of spendable income in 1954; the same family at the $10,000 level will have $138 extra in the pay envelope; the same family at the $15,000 level will have $267 more."

If you make less than $3,000 you won't have a damn cent more. You may even find that your pay check shrinks a bit. But I guess if you make less than $3,000 you're not much of a consumer, so it really doesn't matter.

(2) **Prices** — "Your overall food budget may be officially reported as unchanged — but the alert household manager will be able to find bargains in food."

I've been hunting bargains in food for the last ten years. This doesn't sound like much of a change.

"Discounts will be available on cars, appliances — "

I'm reasonably optimistic, but so far I don't see how the cut in taxes (72 cents a week in my own case) and bargain hunting in food will swing the down payment on a car — even at a discount.

(3) **Supplies** — "Just about everything will be available to you for the asking. It will be a year of 'plenty' for the consumer."

For the asking, if you have the cash. I suppose that's why she puts **plenty** in quotation marks.

(4) **Quality** — "You will get more housing for your dollar, more car for your dollar, more clothing style for your dollar."

Well, I couldn't get much less. But I'm threatened with eviction from my present housing to make way for apartments at $48 a room. That doesn't sound like more housing for **my** dollar.

(5) **Research** and (6) **Competition, salesmanship, advertising** seem closely related. "All over the land industrialists are getting set to offer new products to attract you. From coast to coast, companies are working on inventions that will intrigue you into spending your money. . . Every half-awake manufacturer is preparing to compete in the market-place. Every half-alert merchant is training and re-training salesmen to sell. Advertising will reach new highs in 1954."

I can't help feeling these people are tackling the problem from the wrong end. It's not necessary to make superhuman efforts to interest me in new merchandise. I am very much attracted by any number of products already on the market. I'm ready, even eager, to buy. There's only one difficulty, and in conclusion Miss Porter touches on it briefly.

"Of course, it's not all rosy. The consumer may also be a wage earner — "

That's it. Like the heads of 60,000,000 other families, I happen to be a wage-earner. 1954 will undoubtedly be a good year for some people. If you make $50,000 or $100,000 or $200,000 a year, tax cuts will be substantial. If your employees have been getting out of hand, you can feel confident there will be others to take their place, and your wife may find that once again she can hire a good maid cheap.

But the majority of America's consumers, who also happen to be wage-earners, face a tough year of insecurity and unemployment.

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Pablo Begins to Take Off His Mask

By Joseph Hansen

"After some time in the course of a prolonged, stubborn and heated struggle," Lenin once observed, "there usually begins to emerge the central and fundamental points at issue, upon the decision of which the ultimate outcome of the campaign depends, and in comparison with which all and sundry minor and petty episodes of the struggle recede more and more into the background."

Lenin's generalization, applied by him in 1904 to the struggle with Menshevism, holds true in every serious factional struggle between Marxists and petty bourgeois elements who lose confidence in the program of Marxism. It can be seen in the present factional struggle with Pabloism in the Fourth International. Pablo is beginning to drop the public pretense, permitting us to see a little better the central and fundamental points on which he differs from orthodox Trotskyism.

Last week I discussed what he revealed by his arbitrary action at the end of December when he and a handful of European lieutenants held a closed faction meeting, labelled by them the "Fourteenth Plenum," at which they decided to expel forthwith from the Fourth International anyone adhering to the majority faction opposing them. The majority faction was organized in defense of orthodox Trotskyism against Pablo's revisionist political and organizational views. It set up an International Committee of the Fourth International to coordinate its struggle to save Trotsky's world organization from ruin at the hands of Pablo by removing him as International Secretary. In the eyes of the Pabloites this is blasphemy answerable by nothing less than summary excommunication.

This week I want to take up the political "explanation" offered by Pablo for the crisis that is now putting every adherent or sympathizer of the Fourth International to a severe test, perhaps the most severe in the history of the organization.

The "immediate origin" of the crisis, according to Pablo, was the "justified refusal" by Pablo "to give the majority leadership of the SWP carte blanche to smash the minority with the tacit approval of the International." At the bottom of this demand by the majority leadership of the SWP, he continues, was the concept that "their majority rule" is "consecrated for all time." Thus, in the final analysis, according to Pablo, the concept of the majority leadership of the SWP is "a bureaucratic clique concept" and "a complete negation of the character of the International as a centralized world Party with a principled line both politically and organizationally."

First let's put the facts straight. The "minority" referred to, is the grouping of 18% of the Socialist Workers Party led by Cochran. It was formed of three elements, a layer of trade unionists softened and conservatized by the years of prosperity, a grouping impressed by the post-war victories of Stalinism, and a contingent of tired and burned-out elements seeking a convenient rationalization to escape the witch-hunting pressure bearing down upon the SWP. In one of the lengthiest discussions in the history of the SWP, this faction developed a revisionist program that struck at the very heart of Trotskyism.

The Right of Majority Rule

However, the majority leadership did not demand "carte blanche" to "smash" this minority We did not need to smash it because in the normal course it would have disintegrated by itself.

The truth is that the majority attempted loyally to live with this minority, to discuss with it seriously, to vie with it in party building, leaving it to events to determine which faction platform proved correct. But the minority, under encouragement from Pablo, who had secretly inspired and set it in motion in the first place, deliberately set out to sabotage party activities and party funds when it proved incapable of winning a majority in a free and democratic discussion. The Cochranites culminated this disloyal course by boycotting to a man the important 25th Anniversary Celebration and Election Rally of the New York Local. All those who refused to disavow this act of sabotage were suspended from membership.

Pablo's contention that the majority leadership of the SWP thinks that "their majority rule" is "consecrated for all time," would be ludicrous were it not for the gangrenous Stalinist view that it shows exists in Pablo's head.

The SWP had an 82% majority of party-loyal members an 82% majority not "for all time" but right now. Pablo refused to recognize this majority. He demonstrated that by his approval of the Cochranite sabotage of party activities and party funds. The Cochranites sought to do in the SWP what Pablo did in France — replace majority rule by minority rule. **The formula for this operation is that the majority, as Pablo phrases it, is not "consecrated for all time," therefore the minority is "consecrated" by him into a majority right now.**

Pablo's statement that the insistence of the SWP leadership on majority rule is "a bureaucratic clique concept" really deserves elaboration by the "irremovable" secretary. Only last summer he expressed a diametrically opposite opinion in public.

In a letter dated June 24, 1953 he wrote: "The IS warmly salutes all the leading members of the SWP, all its cadres, and all its members, the entire courageous, Bolshevik team created by long and patient efforts, and which so valiantly carries the banner of Trotskyism in the U.S. It sends its warmest greetings to Comrade Cannon, whose responsible conduct during the recent Plenum it has especially appreciated, and who will always embody for us the founder and the principal animator of the Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist 'regime' of the SWP."

That statement, it is now clear, was just goose grease laid on thick. Pablo was secretly in agreement with the Cochranite view that Cannon's insistence on majority rule is a "bureaucratic clique concept."

That contention, by the way, happens to be one also made by the Shachtmanites in 1939-40. Perhaps that is why Pablo prefers to give it only hasty mention. His American followers, however, were less fastidious. They thought it fitting and appropriate to make their first public declaration in the Shachtmanite Labor Action, Stalinophobic newspaper of the revisonist grouping that organized the 1939-40 petty-bourgeois revolt against orthodox Trotskyism under the banner of a struggle against the "bureaucratic clique" headed by James P. Cannon.

Thus we see emerging in the present factional struggle what was one of the central and fundamental points at issue in the 1939-40 struggle with the petty-bourgeois opposition headed by Burnham and Shachtman: namely, the right of a majority under the principles of democratic centralism to lead the party.

Cannon and Trotsky

While I am on the point, let me observe that the argument that Cannon suddenly went berserk and developed a concept that is the "complete negation" of internationalism can hold water only with elements in the Fourth International who are ignorant of Cannon's views and historical role.

The group of "old Trotskyists" that includes Cannon was brought up on internationalism. They were never narrow nationalists, not even in the beginning. For 40 years and more they have demonstrated this in action. They broke from the IWW and the old Socialist Party and helped found the American Communist Party because of their international outlook.

At a later date they passed the most acid of tests, when from international considerations they broke from the Communist Party a quarter of a century ago after it suffered Stalinist degeneration and founded the nucleus that became the Socialist Workers Party.

Ten years later, in 1938, they were the most powerful and influential grouping outside of the Russian Trotskyists in founding the Fourth International. Since then they have played a not inconsiderable role in helping it through the difficult crises that have beset it from time to time.

From personal experience as secretary to Leon Trotsky I can speak of the authority they had with him, of the value he placed on their opinions, and of the weighty role he considered they had played internationally and would continue to play. Of course, that was only Trotsky's opinion, and it may have been, as some of the Shachtmanites suggested when they decided the time had come to "cut down" Cannon, that Trotsky's esteem for the American revolutionary leader and his close associates was simply evidence that Trotsky was slipping.

The Pabloites already indicate their predilection for the judgment of Shachtman and Burnham on this question. Yet if Pablo cared to speak the truth he could cite rather eloquent evidence, I think, demonstrating the internationalism of Cannon and his collaborators in recent years.

Those are the facts, and they will not be easily smeared over by the newly formed cult.

JOSEPH HANSEN

As if aware that his "explanation" of the "immediate origin" of the crisis in the Fourth International won't stand close scrutiny, Pablo hastens on to the "background."

He has just informed us that the "basis of the political differences" between the majority and his American followers was not "fully revealed," the implication being that the struggle with Cochranism in the SWP was an obscure, enigmatic business in which no one standing on principle could find anything substantial. Now five sentences later, in full contradiction to what he has just said, Pablo declares that "basic political differences" do exist.

This revelation, of course, comes as no surprise to those who participated in or studied the struggle. The majority maintained this from the beginning in opposition to the vehement and even hysterical protests of Pablo's American followers.

The "basic political differences," as Pablo recites them, echo the litany of the Cochranites after the majority succeeded in smoking them out into the open. The SWP leadership, according to Pablo, is "buckling." It is "retrogressing," developing "a set of political and organizational ideas of a sectarian, Social-Democratic and capitulationist character before the pressure of imperialism." The origin of this course, it is important to note, is dated by Pablo as 1946, when the SWP adopted "perspectives — which have proven false. . ."

Pablo's reference here is to the "Theses on the American Revolution" adopted by the 12th National Convention of the SWP. This was an analysis of the world position of American imperialism following World War II. It demonstrated that the colossal power of Wall Street, rested on explosive foundations, not only abroad but at home. **It showed that socialist revolution in America has become a realistic perspective for the period in which we are now living.**

In a certain sense, nothing new was stated in the theses. The decisive character invested in the American revolution was voiced many times by Trotsky. He came to this realization in 1917 when he lived in New York. "Since that time the problem of 'America versus Europe' has been one of my chief interests," he says in his autobiography. "And even now I am studying the question with the utmost care, hoping to devote a separate book to it. If one is to understand the future destiny of humanity, this is the most important of all subjects." On ending his exile in America, he left with the "feeling of a man," he says, "who has had only a peep into the foundry in which the fate of man is to be forged."

Trotsky's concept of the decisive importance of the American revolution runs like a major theme in his subsequent writings. In his crucially important criticism of the draft program of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, written in June 1928 (and smuggled out of the Soviet Union by James P. Cannon), one of Trotsky's first points deals with the failure of the Stalinists to appreciate the role of the United States in the world structure which "transforms North American capitalism into the basic counter-revolutionary force of the modern epoch" and at the same time **"prepares the ground for a gigantic revolutionary explosion in this already dominant and still expanding world imperialist power."**

Trotsky's very last writings, as is well known, were concerned with acute problems of the coming American revolution.

The Perspective in America

This appreciation was not the manifestation of any narrow nationalistic pride Trotsky had in the United States. It was not a sign of his "buckling" under the pressure of American imperialism. It derived from his theoretical understanding of the world structure of capitalism as a whole.

This concept was one of the keys to the close collaboration between Cannon and Trotsky, for from it flows the practical consequence that the main task of American socialists from the international point of view is to concentrate on building a party capable of leading the American workers to success in the struggle for a Workers and Farmers Government.

The natural tendency for radicals in America, in view of the tremendous difficulties of the task, is to look abroad for revolutionary movements in other countries to come to the rescue, to applaud revolutionists abroad and cheer them on, help them with good advice and other forms of aid, but let the tasks at home wait for "tomorrow." Cannon, from the beginning, was one of those who recognized the importance of extending the hand of international solidarity but who saw that the main task is here at home. "What the other countries need from us, above everything else, is one small but good revolution in the United States." And in this Trotsky agreed with Cannon 100%.

The "Theses on the American Revolution" tested Trotsky's concepts once more in the light of the new situation at the end of World War II and found that they were still valid, in fact had achieved fresh actuality.

In rejecting the "Theses," Pablo thus rejects Trotsky's concept of the American revolution and along with it Trotsky's concept of the world structure of capitalism, for the two are parts of an integral whole.

That is the source of the abysmal pessimism Pablo displays about the American revolution. There is "every reason to believe that the real revolutionary eruption of the American proletariat will come only after the outbreak of the war," this undertaker lugubriously announces. **He means World War III, the H-Bomb war that can reduce all civilization to radioactive ruins.**

And thus we see emerging another central and fundamental point at issue, this one dealing with nothing less than the most titanic and decisive revolution in all history. It is the same issue that in the final analysis was at the bottom of the struggle with Shachtman and Burnham in 1939-40, with Goldman and Morrow at the end of World War II, with Cochran in the past year — it is the question of the perspectives for socialist revolution in America and the relation of the American Trotskyist movement to it. Pablo has begun to intimate that on this question he stands in opposition to Leon Trotsky. He stands on the side of the petty-bourgeois opposition groups — the Mensheviks of our day — that have appeared from time to time in the Socialist Workers Party under the fierce pressure of American imperialism.

This is the first time that Pablo has openly indicated his real views on this fundamental question. Up to now he carefully kept them hidden from public view, initiating only a few chosen high priests into the inner sanctum of his secret thoughts. Publicly he took an exactly opposite position.

For example, as late as August 1953, in the document that is up for discussion right now in the Fourth International, "Our Integration in the Real Movement of the Masses, Our Experience and Perspectives," Pablo states:

"The 'Theses on the American Revolution,' adopted by the organization at the end of 1946 have not been invalidated, although they have still to be realized. They constitute an essential document in the programmatic arsenal of the American organization. There should not be the slightest decrease in the unshakeable confidence which members of the SWP should have in the capacity of the Trotskyist-Bolshevik nucleus, patiently created through long effort in that country, to serve as the basic nucleus of the revolutionary Marxist mass party of tomorrow and to block the road to any centrist, non-revolutionary-Marxist, provisional leadership of the masses."

Let is be noted that this is the official position which Pablo is still asking the Fourth International to publicly reaffirm although he has now indicated, in "explaining" the crisis in the Fourth International, that his real views are the opposite.

It was this duplicity of Pablo that made it so difficult for us to catch up with him. We are accustomed to go by what revolutionists state they believe in publicly. The repeated assurances of the Cochranites that their revisionist program represented the "real views" of Pablo seemed nonsense to us in view of Pablo's publicly stated positions such as the one cited above. However, Pablo's actions began to speak louder than his public declamations, and now we see the central and fundamental points on which he differs from orthodox Trotskyism beginning to emerge.

Is the Transitional Program Valid?

In the Pabloite newspaper, La Verite des Travailleurs, we are given another intimation of the depth of Pablo's revision. In the December issue, in his first reflex to the open letter of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to Trotskyists throughout the world, which called for struggle against Pabloism, the "irremovable" secretary gives a different date than 1946 for the origin of the crisis in the Fourth International.

The trouble with Cannon and his international tendency, says Pablo, is that "they remain genuinely 'orthodox,' faithful to the schemas and tactic of 1938. . . They have the same attitude as in 1938 toward the Stalinist organizations and movements as well as what concerns the USSR."

This cryptic reference to the "schemas and tactic of 1938" is to the Transitional Program worked out by Leon Trotsky after a series of meetings with an American delegation headed by James P. Cannon. "This entire assemblage of predictions and of the correct tactic at the time was overturned from top to bottom by the different course taken by History," Pablo informs us. **In plain language, all Trotsky's predictions and tactics in the Transition Program — the "entire assemblage" — were "overturned from top to bottom."**

But this position announced by Pablo in Dec. 1953 is in direct contradiction to Pablo's public position at the Third World Congress in 1951: "We want to remove all grounds of criticism from those who are afraid that we are lightmindedly abandoning even a particle of the attitude which Trotskyism has had in the past toward the Soviet bureaucracy." (See Fourth International, Nov.-Dec. 1951, p. 171.)

In accordance with this, the resolutions of the Third World Congress, despite certain formulations that caused misgivings, did reaffirm the orthodox program of Trotskyism, and it was on this basis that Pablo was elected secretary of the Fourth International and charged with the administrative task of defending and furthering that program.

However, in secret Pablo was developing a different set of views that were reflected only in the enigmatic formulations mentioned above. The slogan of the Cochranites, "Junk the old Trotskyism," takes on more concrete meaning now. Already we see that it means junk everything back to 1938. And once that's done, it can safely be predicted much more will follow.

Now that Pablo has taken the plunge and indicated his differences with the Transitional Program, we hope his followers will display sufficient temerity to ask the cult head precisely why this program must be discarded and what we are to replace it with, particularly since this is another central and fundamental point of difference beginning to emerge with orthodox Trotskyism.

Substitution by Pablo

The fact is that in advance of this explanation, in violation of the resolutions of the Third World Congress, and in complete disregard of the will of the majority Pablo has substituted for Transitonal Program a world-wide tactical maneuver — toward Stalinism.

This brings us to the real reasons for the crisis in the Fourth International. In conformity with the cure-all tactic he has substituted for the Transitional Program, Pablo is attempting to substitute new concepts of Stalinism that put conciliation to the bureaucracy in place of the political revolution called for by Trotsky.

Pablo sought to put over the revised concepts on the Fourth International through piecemeal maneuvers rather than honest and open discussion. Since this could never be rammed down the throat of the orthodox Trotskyist majority, Pablo utilized Stalinist-type organizational moves aimed at cutting down the majority, especially in those countries where orthodox Trotskyism is the strongest. Hence the secret faction, the expulsion of entire majorities, the threat of reprisals against those who refuse to acquiesce in his course.

His revisionism became apparent when the evidence piled up that his real views were those presented by the Cochranite minority in the SWP and not what Pablo proclaimed in public. The evidence became overwhelming in the light of Pablo's reaction to the post-Stalin events in the Soviet Union, the Stalinist crushing of the June 17 uprising of the East German workers, and the Stalinist betrayal of the French general strike in August. In each of these instances, Pablo displayed a conciliatory attitude toward Stalinism in gross violation of the basic program of Trotskyism.

In his latest statements, Pablo has begun to lift the mask. His real views, it should now be easier for all to see, are quite different from what he proclaimed in public. They are in glaring violation of the main decisions of the Third World Congress that he was duty-bound to uphold. On some of the most basic issues he has departed from Trotskyism, above all on the question of Stalinism and of the coming American revolution.

Up until last August he was still lauding the Socialist Workers Party, its program, its leadership and its accomplishments. Now he suddenly reveals that his secret opinion was the opposite. Its accomplishments in building an independent party of revolutionary socialism are now written off, its leadership smeared as "sectarian," its major strategic orientation rejected, the whole perspective of socialist revolution in America in the coming period shrugged off with a sneer.

And beyond that we see this poisonous skeptic and unprincipled maneuverer unraveling Trotskyism right back to 1938, discarding "from top to bottom" everything in the Transitional Program dealing with the Soviet Union; that is the "entire assemblage" of Trotsky's analysis of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy and program for overthrowing it.

Why Doesn't He Use It Then?

Bernard M. Shanley, special counsel to Pres. Eisenhower told an audience of college students in South Orange, N. J., Jan. 18 that "The President's main complaint is that we don't give him enough time to think. Finally we had to set aside a half hour in the morning and the same time in the afternoon, in order to give the President the time he requires. Just imagine the President . . . having to beg for an hour's time in all during the day to think."

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Baby Boy Frozen in His Crib

At 10:30 A.M. Jan. 18, an eight-month-old baby boy was found frozen to death in his crib in an unheated two-room flat in the Williamsburgh section of Brooklyn. His two-year-old sister, whose crying had attracted the neighbors, was taken to the hospital suffering from frostbite and malnutrition.

The Brooklyn police said they found the infant under two thin cotton blankets in the icy apartment. His scantily covered sister was sobbing from the cold, her hands and legs turning white.

The temperature in the room, the police report, was down to 17 degrees above zero. A broken-down kerosene stove was without fuel. The two-jet kitchen stove was out of order. The only food in the apartment was a cup half full of cocoa and a little milk in the ice box.

Within a few hours the efficient police dragnet had the mother of the two children, Mrs. Carmen Ramos. They charged her with homicide and held her for an early hearing to answer for the death of her son Rafael.

Mrs. Ramos is 19 years old. She is separated from her husband, an unemployed grocery clerk. For the past year he has been contributing $16 a week through the Domestic Relations Court towards the support of the family. In addition, Mrs. Ramos has received supplementary relief from the city. Just how much this amounts to is not clear. One newspaper reports $4.15 a week. The police claim she has been getting $18.88 a week.

The magistrate at the initial hearing ordered the 19-year-old girl held without bail. His assertion that this was the "worst case of unnatural motherhood I have ever heard of" was prominently featured in New York's newspapers, who, like the magistrate, are all for natural motherhood and the other virtues.

What a revolting picture of sanctimonious piety! A poverty-stricken teen-age girl, trying to cope single-handed with the problem of raising two infants in the brutal streets of the most powerful center of capitalism, couldn't keep from sinking. And the jackal pack was upon her. "Unnatural mother!" shouted the magistrate. "Unnatural mother!" screamed the capitalist press.

"Unnatural system!" we say.

What about the Domestic Relations Court, which is theoretically responsible for the children's welfare? Or the Public Welfare Dep't, with the weekly visits of its "social workers"? Are they free of criminal neglect? And what about a capitalist society so callous about the welfare of its citizens as to permit such neglect by its official agencies?

Isn't it about time to end this system and replace it with something better and more "natural"?

GM "Bets" a Billion Dollars

"GM Bets Billion Against Recession" is the headline over a story in the Dec. 19 N. Y. World-Telegram reciting the claim of Harlow H. Curtice, president of General Motors Corp., that GM plans to spend $500 million annually for the next two years for an expansion program.

We don't say GM won't spend that much. Its net profits run around half a billion a year. It's the world's largest industrial corporation, controlling almost half of America's output and distribution of automobiles. It can easily scrape up the dough.

But GM never bet a dime on anything. Not its own money, anyhow. And if it were betting a billion now, it would not be in the belief there won't be a recession. It would be betting that no matter what happens, there won't be a recession for GM, that it's going to pull in profits on the same or bigger scale than before.

Anyway, there's not much "betting" involved when you shoot with loaded dice or deal from a marked deck or operate a rigged roulette wheel. And that's about what is involved in GM's "billion bet."

Just the day before Curtice's highly publicized announcement of "confidence" and "faith" in America's capitalist future, the Defense Department — headed, coincidentally, by GM's former president, C. E. Wilson — made public an analysis of military contracts issued by the government in the past three years.

Lo and behold! The 100 biggest corporations got 64% of all contracts based on their dollar value. And what corporation do you think got the largest share of all? General Motors. It got 7.2% of all the funds handed out by the U.S. government for war orders in the past three years — $7,095,800,000 out of a national total of $98,732,000,000.

War spending is going to continue at only a slightly lower level than in 1953, with GM getting an ever bigger share. The only kind of money GM is going to stake, therefore, is money from the U.S. Treasury extracted from the American people, including the GM workers. GM may expand, all right — but on government war orders and the five-year-tax amortization racket.

In the meantime, however, GM workers won't be getting the take-home pay they got last year, Curtice concedes. For one thing, they are going to lose their overtime. And workers in competing smaller companies, that are losing ground in the shrinking auto markets and have suffered war contracts cutbacks, are being laid off by the scores of thousands.

We don't have a billion to bet there will be a recession or depression. But our staff has pooled a grand total of $10.96 to bet, cash on the line, that the big controlling share-holders of GM are fixing to make sure that, whatever happens, their dividends won't suffer any recession. Not if C. E. Wilson's war department can help it.

Deutscher -- Apologist for Stalinism

The foul frame-up system used by the Kremlin bureaucracy to help maintain its hated rule has been so thoroughly exposed and discredited that open and crass apologists are simply met with ridicule and disdain by every section of the public except dyed-in-the-wool Stalinists. Thus a certain field is open only for a different type of apologist — the slick, sophisticated, "non-Stalinist" apologist, capable of meeting strong skepticism with a well-polished but carefully loaded "both sides of the question" approach.

Isaac Deutscher meets these specifications about as well as any journalist in a long time. Deutscher's thesis is that the police-state practices of the Kremlin dictatorship, morally reprehensible though they be, must be viewed from a "historical" perspective and as such accepted as an unfortunate but subordinate feature of the great achievements of planned economy in the Soviet Union.

On the basis of his false identification of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy with the progressive economy, in which it plays principally the role of parasite, Deutscher came up with a second "theory." Soviet economic and social development, he argues, has now reached the point where the material basis for the bureaucratic "excesses" has been eliminated and both the masses and the Malenkov regime recognize this "new reality."

"One can almost hear him (Malenkov)" Deutscher wrote, "pleading in the inner circles of the Kremlin: Better to abolish the worst features of Stalinism from above than to wait until they are abolished from below."

But this "theory" looked a bit sick when the purge of Beria was announced. Deutscher, temporarily abashed, felt forced to "explain" what has happened. In the Sept. 1, 1953, Reporter magazine, he opined that the reform forces "have suffered a severe setback" by "this amalgam of the Stalin purges of the 1930's."

However, five months of thinking over the blow to his slick theory caused him to reconsider. In the Feb. 2 Reporter he returns to the Beria purge with an apology so smoothly sandpapered and varnished that it is bound to dazzle more than a few suckers. The Beria purge is really evidence of how much the Stalinist bureaucracy has reformed itself!

Naturally, he puts "ifs" and "buts" around everything. However, these qualifiers modify nothing essential, serving only to make more plausible the point he tries to put across: "Who can maintain that this was 'only the same old show?'"

Here are a few of his "proofs" that the execution of Beria as a spy for foreign imperialism since 1919 is not the "same old show": There was "none of the mechanical crescendo of fury and terror that filled Moscow's air long before each of the great purge trials of the 1930's." "Yet even the ritualistic list of crimes was not what it used to be." The standard "resolutions, although demanding 'exemplary punishment for the outcasts,' nevertheless lacked that peculiar hoarse bloodthirstiness that they had when Vishinsky, as chief prosecutor, set the tone." "The public was given to understand that once this purge was over, no repetition of the insanities of the Stalin era was intended. In the 1930's each trial foreshadowed its sequel." "The conduct of the Beria trial was calculated on the contrary to reassure the people that this was a one-night stand, not the opening of a long run."

Less than a month after the bloody close of the "one-night stand," while Deutscher's latest apology is still on display, comes news of another purge in Georgia and Ukraine. We await with anticipation the soothing explanation that may be expected about this from the critical but appreciative reviewer of Moscow's frame-up shows.

The Medical Trust Vs. People's Health Needs

By Myra Tanner

DOCTORS, PEOPLE, AND GOVERNMENT. By James Howard Means, M.D. 206 pp. Boston: Atlantic, Little and Brown & Co., $3.50.

Eisenhower's program "to improve the health of the American people," in his Jan. 18 message to Congress, raises anew the question of government-financed health insurance. He, of course, opposes direct government insurance. He proposes, instead, to set up a $25,000,000 fund to establish "a limited Federal reinsurance service to encourage private and nonprofit health insurance organizations. . ." But even this picayune proposal was attacked by Dr. Edward J. McCormick, president of the American Medical Association, as a potential threat to the private insurance companies and a possible step toward "socialized medicine."

Dr. McCormick's attitude reflects the "patriotic" witch hunt against socialism for which the American people are paying a heavy price, among other things, in the growing cost of medical care and the consequent deterioration of the health standards of the nation. Every effort of doctors and lay groups to meet this critical problem through group practice and prepaid medical plans is met by the American Medical Association with a well-organized, hysterical campaign on the evils of "socialized medicine."

Dr. James Howard Means has written an excellent account of this struggle in his new book, "Doctors, People, and Government." The author is eminently qualified to speak on the subject of America's medical needs from the professional point of view. He is a former president of the American College of Physicians and served for 28 years as Chief of the Medical Services at Massachusetts General Hospital and Professor of Clinical Medicine at Harvard Medical School. He is now in retirement and working professionally with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

HOW AMA OPERATES

Dr. Means tells us that "at the national level, organized medicine has worked to block bills in Congress which aim to bring the government into medicine by one jot more than it traditionally has been. . . Of course, socialized medicine in the sociologist's meaning of the term, has never been advocated by any of the medical bills in Congress. But the American Medical Association has set it up as a formidable straw man, and then . . . has proceeded to knock it to smithereens.

"At the state level we find a different situation," says Dr. Means. "There the medical societies have been highly successful, not in blocking legislation, but in promoting it. In many states they have secured the passage through legislatures of bills restricting in various ways the operation of practice groups, prepayment plans," etc. "Horace R. Hansen, calls all this 'the greatest body of law affecting American Health to appear in our history'."

The author summarizes the nation's medical needs as follows: "Shortage of personnel, shortage of facilities, irregular distribution of both, inadequate production of new personnel, inefficiencies in operation, mounting costs and lack of organization for the best utilization of professional skills both in the promotion of health and in the provision of medical care." In view of these severe shortages and increased costs that have developed in the zealously guarded system of private practice of the AMA, the legislative victories of organized medicine will prove to be quite costly to the American people.

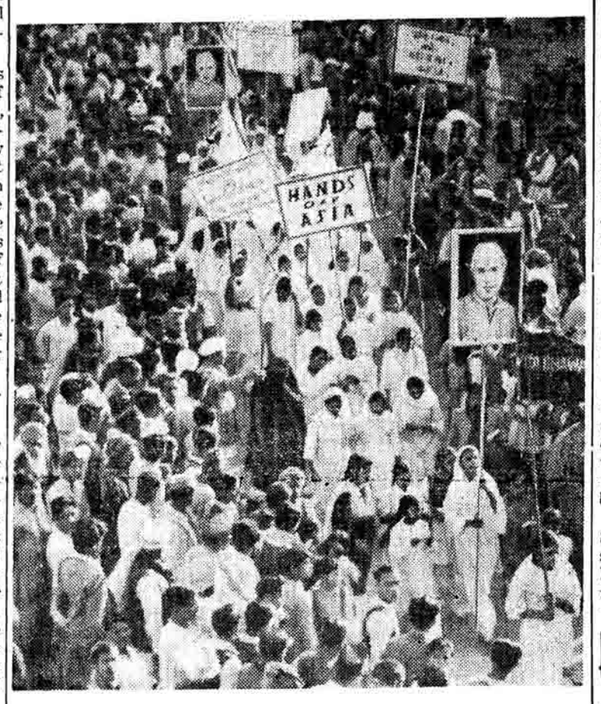
Private efforts to intervene, in the absence of any state planning or intervention, have led to a long series of litigations. The first of these cases began with a Federal Grand Jury indictment of the AMA under the Sherman Anti-trust Act in 1938 for its persecution of the Group Health Association in the District of Columbia. The purpose of the Group Health Association was to provide prepaid medical care and hospitalization to some 2,600 employees of the federal government. Dr. Means cites many other cases in which privately sponsored plans to meet medical needs have had to go to the courts for protection against the monopolistic AMA.

STRANGE ARGUMENT

The argument offered by organized medicine that these efforts are socialistic and will lead to government domination of medical practice is particularly strange in this period when there is more government-sponsored medical work in the United States than ever before in its history. Two world wars have forced the government to accept the direct medical responsibility for hundreds of thousands.

Dr. Means offers moderate proposals for meeting the health needs of the people short of socialized medicine. As a doctor he is able to indicate the direction which planning should take. But as he is not a sociologist he cannot see how the political obstacles can be overcome. For that, a Workers and Farmers Government and a socialist program is needed.

Hands Off Asia!



Carrying banners reading "Hands Off Asia!" thousands parade in New Delhi, India, in protest against reports that U.S. imperialism is proposing a military alliance with Pakistan. The Indian people fear U.S. may arm Pakistan as a threat to India as well as the Soviet Union and China.

Five Million May Lose Their Jobs, CIO Warns

(Continued from page 1)

sector of the economy — agriculture — is even more grave. Total farm incomes have plummeted more than 20% since 1952. The average farmer has been caught in a terrific cost-price squeeze.

The question is: What does the Eisenhower administration and Congress propose to do about economic conditions that have already slashed the incomes of millions upon millions of workers and farmers?

So far, Eisenhower has proposed nothing to improve the lot of the unemployed. They will continue to face subsistence on unemployment insurance that averages, under the present state-operated but federally financed system, $23.30 weekly for 22 weeks. This covers only two-thirds of the non-farm workers and farm workers are excluded.

The 13 states with the lowest unemployment compensation rates average payments of less than $19 a week, and for only 14 weeks, or less, in eight of these states.

According to a survey in the Nov. 13, 1953, U.S. News and World Report, the system of unemployment insurance that "is supposed to keep a downturn from going far . . on inspection . . . turns out to be a relatively small replacer of income and very limited protection." In fact, "Benefits now are about a third of the average factory wage."

Eisenhower has tried to cover up the paucity of his program on unemployment with a big demagogic pitch about an improved old-age pension system. His proposal constitutes one of the biggest hoaxes ever attempted on the American people. It would reduce the total income of the workers far more than it would increase individual payments to **the retired.**

The average old-age payment to single persons is now about $49 a month — nothing but a semi-starvation handout. The plan of Eisenhower, based on a formula determined by Welfare Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby, would hike this average monthly payment for the six million persons now on the rolls by an average of only $6 to $7 a month — effective next October, if Congress approves. Congressional approval remains a question mark.

Eisenhower's Social Security program only shows how intolerably bad is the much-vaunted system and standards set up by the Democratic "Fair Deal" and "New Deal." But the slight increase in payments proposed by Eisenhower will scarcely alter a system that was established, in reality, as a cheaper form of relief than the old home-relief system.

The government has actually made money on the Social Security system and Eisenhower's program is designed to up the government's take still more. That's where part of the hoax comes in. By increasing the income base on which social security taxes are paid from $3,600 to $4,200 a year and by extending taxation to ten more million people to be placed under social security coverage, Eisenhower "would put more money into Uncle Sam's pockets than in those of the people for a good many years to come," reveals the Wall Street Journal.

Individual social security taxes would be hiked by as much as $12 per person.

Eisenhower's scheme would reduce mass purchasing power by more than $600,000,000 a year, thereby weakening still further, instead of bolstering, the American economy. Meanwhile, Congress is considering a 100% boost in "relief" — **for its own members.** Senators and Representatives are working on a proposition to double their own pay. They are also considering tax "relief" for the rich coupon-clippers by a bill to reduce income-tax rates on dividends from stocks.

The labor leaders are not altogether unaware that a terrible economic menace hangs over the workers. This is reflected in the recent series of pleas by CIO President Walter Reuther to Eisenhower. Reuther's program is to appeal to Eisenhower to "call at the earliest practicable date a broad, representative conference to discuss ways and means of maintaining full production and full employment"

Such a conference of top business and union functionaries and government officials is scarcely likely to bring any sound results. The problem is not one of putting heads together to figure out the solution of a tough problem. Big Business and its government agents have a solution — from their standpoint. They propose to sustain profits and their own incomes at the expense of the workers and farmers.

Labor's job is to mobilize its mighty forces to put through a different solution — in the interests of the workers and farmers. That requires a great national Congress of Labor, with representatives of all the unions, to draft a program to protect the workers from unemployment and capitalist depression. **Through a Congress of Labor, the workers could launch an irresistible campaign for the 30-hour week with no loss of take-home pay; for a Labor Party to put the representatives of the workers in power in Washington; and for a Workers and Farmers Government to carry through a basic program to wipe out unemployment, war and reaction.**

World Events

By Paul Abbott

"ALONG WITH CHRISTMAS TOYS" and much else imported from the U.S. such as "the cigarettes we smoke and the polio that strikes us down," writes the Dec. Mexican Trotskyist magazine Que Hacer, Mexico is also importing something more sinister from north of the Rio Grande; namely, the McCarthyite anti-communist hysteria.

A number of workers have been fired lately in various plants on charge of being communists, reports the magazine. "Suppose the discharged workers were communists, this is scarcely a justified reason for depriving them of work. Is there, then, freedom of thought or not?"

"We are importing the anti-Communist hysteria," Que Hacer bitterly charges. "And this can inundate us still more. The Yankees are headed down the tracks to fascism. And they are trying to convert our country into another boxcar on this train travelling backward into barbarism."

The Mexican Trotskyists urge the workers to call a halt to the import of McCarthyism. "Support the discharged workers. Vote to strike. Don't abandon your class brothers persecuted for their ideas."

* * *

JAPANESE CROPS have suffered their worst failure in 19 years, reports the Jan. 8 Crossroads, Los Angeles Nisei weekly. Farm incomes have dropped alarmingly, according to Crossroads, and it is estimated that this year's rice crop will be 17% lower than last year's.

* * *

REPORTS TRICKLING OUT OF FASCIST SPAIN indicate that a week-long strike of 5,000 shipyard workers in Bilbao has greatly heartened the underground anti-Franco movement. The strike broke out Nov. 30 over cancellation of overtime and refusal by management to pay the usual Christmas bonus.

The strikers demonstrated impressive solidarity and courage, refusing to be intimidated by the mobilization of police forces, threats of dismissal and deprivation of social security benefits.

The action began as a sit-down at the Euskalduna Shipyards and spread to other enterprises. The chain reaction was halted only when management in threatened yards agreed to pay the usual bonus.

According to fascist law in Spain, strikes are tantamount to subversion and strike leaders are liable to long terms of imprisonment and even death. Some 12 to 20 alleged ringleaders were arrested but their further fate is unknown.

Shortly after the strike, the Franco regime announced new wage scales, including appreciable increases, for workers in the iron and steel industries. This is taken as a concession aimed at heading off unrest that was undoubtedly heightened by the action of the shipyard workers.

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PERSISTENT REPORTS in the press that the Eisenhower administration is considering acceding to demands for recognition of the Mao regime and the seating of New China in the United Nations are trial balloons sent up by the State Department. "Inside opinion is leaning toward the view that a deal with Communist China may be 'realistic' some time in the future," says the Jan. 15 U.S. News & World Report. This is confirmed by the Jan. 18 New Republic: "The climate of official opinion is changing quite fast on Red China. Or rather what the State Department is now beginning to think it is safe to say."

Harold Stassen, Foreign Aid Administrator, even sent a report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee "in which he vigorously advocates trade relations with Communist countries," according to columnist Robert S. Allen. (N. Y. Post, Jan. 19.) "It is erroneous to look upon any and all East-West trade as an evil thing that must be stamped out," Allen quotes Stassen as saying.

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SAMASAMAJIST, English weekly of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, draws "The Lesson of the Beria Trial" in its Jan. 7 issue: ". . . what is of significance is that the Beria trial in post-Stalin Russia continues to bear the same pattern as the judicial frame-ups of the Stalin era. . . Many people believed, however, that under the new Malenkov regime, this horrible system of confessions which constitutes such a blot on Soviet justice, would be done away with. The Beria trial teaches us that this is not so. The Beria trial is a reminder that the Soviet bureaucracy cannot change the political regime by a series of reforms. This task has to be accomplished by the Soviet masses in struggle against the bureaucracy. History has demonstrated that autocrats doomed to disappear do not remove themselves gracefully from the scene; they have to be removed. The Soviet bureaucrats are no exception."

Unemployment Nears '49 Recession Peak

(Continued from page 1)

1,400,000, at least, "who would have been working or looking for work had there been greater possibilities of finding jobs."

In one section of the auto industry alone-including Chrysler, Hudson, Nash, Packard and Studebaker — Reuther reported that some 74,000 workers have been laid off since last spring.

An especially significant fact cited by Reuther was the report of the Michigan Employment Security Commission that listed 107,000 unemployed in Detroit as of early January, or 7% **of the labor force.**

The percentage of the civilian labor force unemployed at the very peak of post-World War II unemployment during the "Truman recession," in February, 1950, was 7.6%. The number of unemployed then officially listed was 4,684,000.

It is absolutely false to consider the Detroit and Michigan unemployment situation as exceptional. In New Jersey, for instance, the State Division of Employment Security disclosed that the number of new claims for unemployment insurance filed in December 1953 was the largest number in any month since August 1945 and the second largest since claims were first received in January, 1939.

An official of the division told the N. Y. Times that the total of unemployment compensation claims has now reached "7% of the number covered by the insurance. He admitted that the division regarded 8% as 'the danger point'."

The Jan. 11 Wall Street Journal reported a 19-state survey which revealed that "around the country, shuffling queues of men and women outside state employment insurance offices are getting longer. . ." Here are some key figures from the survey.

Illinois: Weekly unemployment insurance claims jumped more than 100% from a mid-October level of 50 000 to 108.102 for the week ended Dec. 26, 1953.

Ohio: The state Bureau of Unemployment Compensation "is putting on 150 additional clerks to handle the swelling unemployment insurance claims, running two-and-a-half times the level of a year ago."

Indiana: Unemployment claims for the week ended Jan. 2 bounded up to 67,000 "compared with 43,600 for the Dec. 12 week and 21,800 a year ago" — that is, over 300% in 12 months.

In "straight-talking **Texas**," an offical of the state employment commission told the Journal: "Claims for unemployment benefits have been jumping up to beat hell since Christmas."

"RECESSION" IS HERE

What the government's statistics do not show at all is what "a prominent labor official in New Jersey," quoted by the Jan. 17 N. Y. Times, called the "creeping unemployment" that "has hit thousands [in New Jersey] whose overtime work has been cut and others who have been reduced to working part time."

The device of "sharing the unemployment" by reducing the workers to a part-time four-day week, or less, with corresponding slashes in take-home pay, is being favored increasingly by the employers. An example was the recent cutback of Bethlehem Steel in the Buffalo area to two-thirds of capacity, by putting many of its 17,000 Lackawanna plant workers on a shortened four-day week.

Another favorite device for covering up unemployment is laying off workers with a promise of recalling them within 30 days. Government statisticians count all such laid-off workers among the "employed."

It is no longer a question of whether we will reach a 1949-50 type "recession," when unemployment passed the four-million mark in Janury and February, 1950. We are already there.

The United States, richest country in the world, ranks sixth among nations of the world in what it actually spends per capita on social security. In terms of the proportion of national income, the U.S. record is even worse. Nineteen other countries allocate a higher percentage of their national income on social welfare than the US. does. (International Woodworker.)

THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

A 'Leader' Sells Out

If Joseph D. Bibb, Illinois state director of public service and the only Negro in the United States to hold membership in a governor's cabinet were an elected representative of colored people, he would be kicked out of office so fast he wouldn't know what hit him.

The speech he delivered at the annual luncheon of the Urban League in Cleveland last Saturday was as disgraceful a sell-out of the Negro struggle for equality as we've heard in many a year. It should be published far and wide so that this leading candidate for No. 1 Uncle Tom of 1954 is completely exposed to every opponent of racial discrimination.

In our book, here are four major crimes Mr. Bibb committed against the Negro struggle in that one speech:

(1) Half a century after the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was organized in protest against Negro leaders who accepted the policy of "gradualism" in the struggle for equality, Bibb comes out as an advocate of that reactionary doctrine:

"Frankly," he told his audience of 700 persons, "I do not expect the millennium to come at an early day. The process *must be a gradual assimilation* and absorption of the colored into the modern mode of living." (My emphasis — J.B.)

(2) He aided and abetted bigots by lending weight to one of their favorite arguments for discrimination in the North when he said that the people of cities above the Mason-Dixon line were confronted with tremendous problems as colored immigration continued to flow from the South.

If he was referring to the problems of adjustment of persons from rural areas to life in large industrial cities, or of low-income groups to the high cost of living in such cities, what was the point of distinguishing between colored and white immigration from the South unless he was implying some special backwardness or inferiority in the colored "immigrants"?

Or, if he was referring to the problem of Northern white communities having their democratic pose tested by the presence of a greater number of Negroes, whose side is he on in the struggle for equal rights?

(3) Pleading for crumbs for a privileged few instead of for complete abolition of discrimination, complete equality of opportunity, this self-appointed spokesman for the Negro masses said, "We want economic representation in proportion to our buying power." What a sickly argument! Why should any colored person be limited in his opportunities by the buying power of the group that, under capitalism, is the lowest in the economic scale?

(4) Speaking directly on his subject, "America's Untapped Power," Bibb said the "darker minority of our land" has been neglected as a source of power. . . It is most important that "our house not be divided" in these critical times. . . "The time has come for colored Americans to develop a dynamic red-blooded middle class that will lend strength to the fiber of American life in its battle against the Communist onslaught."

Wrong on all counts! Colored people have not been "neglected" as a source of power; they have been suppressed and sabotaged and wastefully exploited as a source of productive power. These critical times only increase the urgency for Negroes to join with the rest of their fellow workers, turn their backs on the whole weak, snivelling, hopeless middle class, and organize for effective struggle against the onslaught of the desperate capitalist class which is trying to turn back the clock of history.

Plan to Stay Right There

By Joyce Cowley

For the second time in a month, the New York Board of Estimate has postponed a hearing on the housing project south of Washington Square. According to city planners, the 12,000 workers who live in this area are taking a very unreasonable attitude and standing in the way of progress. They just don't see the advantages of nice new housing at $48 a room.

At a packed meeting Jan. 9, more than 500 angry tenants planned a mass demonstration at the Board of Estimate hearing. Buses were already lined up to take them down to City Hall, leaflets and loud speakers announcing their departure at 9 A.M., when word came through that "because the plan has aroused so much controversy, a separate hearing will be held within the next two weeks so that all opinions can be made known."

The timing of this Washington Square proposal was a little unfortunate. The first hearing was scheduled in December, the same week that the sensational housing report suppressed by Moses disclosed that tenants in the areas that are torn down rarely, if ever, get back into the new housing that is built. In the case of the Alfred E. Smith Houses, only 17% of the original residents got apartments in the project.

Another report released this week by the Citizens Housing and Planning Council gives some indication of what does happen to the people who are evicted. When the city failed to relocate these tenants, private enterprise stepped in. Thousands of new dwelling units were created. A study of eight Manhattan blocks shows a startling increase. From 1950 to 1953, the number of family dwellings climbed from 4,570 to 6,750. This increase of 2,320 units is especially remarkable since there was *no new building in the area.*

The "family dwelling units" are the result of partitions — dividing and sub-dividing existing apartments. Formerly, the apartments rented unfurnished at an average of $14 a room. Now that a few pieces of second-hand furniture have been added, the average rental is $42 a room. Bath and toilet facilities are shared by five or six families. Cellars are illegally occupied. There are no exits to fire escapes.

When families are thrown out of an area which is to be "redeveloped," this is where they go.

There is no decent low-cost housing available in New York City. Slums are cleared to build high-income projects at $42 to $48 a room or "middle" income at $30 a room. That's why the tenants below Washington Square plan to stay right where they are until some real improvement in their housing is proposed.

Notes from the News

NEGRO PRESS CIRCULATION. The Jan. 9 Pittsburgh Courier reports that in 1953 there were 187 Negro newspapers published in 37 states and the District of Columbia, with a total circulation of 2,444,596. Forty-three Negro magazines had a total circulaton of 1,297,637.

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ILLINOIS PAY CHECKS SLICED. The reduced work week has made a real dent in the weekly pay of Illinois workers. Figures for the month of Nov. 1953, released by the State Director of Labor, reveal the following drop in one month: Coal mining weekly earnings down $14.50; fabricated metal products down $1.42; transportation equipment down $2.68; apparel and textiles down $1.41; leather down $1.79.

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THE COST OF WAR. Figures compiled by the Veterans Administration and reported in the Jan. 10 N.Y. Times cite some of the subsidiary costs of the wars that the U.S. has participated in. Thirty billion dollars have been spent in veterans benefits alone since the Revolutionary War, the bulk of that amount on World Wars I and II. More than a million disabled veterans, widows, and children of veterans of World War I are receiving pensions. For World War II the figures are close to two million. Korea is still too recent for full tabulation. The VA figures that if there never is another war it will still be the year 2080 before it can close its books on World War II and Korea.

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GUILT BY DEFAULT. The Int'l Workers Order, a fraternal insurance organization, has been designated by the Subversive Control Board as a "communist front." The IWO has previously been ordered by the New York courts to dissolve itself. When its case came before the Subversive Control Board, the IWO, being "dissolved," was denied by N.Y. courts the right to allocate funds for its legal defense against the "subversive" charge. The board then ruled it guilty by default and ordered the "dissolved" organization to register with the Attorney General.

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"MOON IS BLUE" DRAWS FINE. The Stanley Corp. has been fined $100 in a Jersey City court for showing the Hollywood comedy, "The Moon is Blue," under an ordinance forbidding "indecent" films. "The picture is not dirty. It does not show dirt for dirt's sake, but," the presiding magistrate opined, "it does not conform to popular mores and might be harmful to adolescents and some adults."

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NEATEST TRICK OF THE WEEK. Sen. Hubert Humphrey, "liberal" Democrat from Minnesota is shown in the Dec. 21 CIO News grinning fondly at Sen. Long of Louisiana, son of the late fascist "Kingfish" Huey Long. The photo caption says that Humphrey is a "leading advocate of fair employment practices (who) has kept the high respect of his southern colleagues."

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"IF IMITATION IS THE SINCEREST FORM OF FLATTERY," says the Jan. 18 Social Democratic weekly, the New Leader, "allow us to accept a compliment from across the seas." The compliment was paid by Janata, official organ of the Praja Socialist Party of India. "What struck us about Janata. . . was its format. More than two years ago, it adopted a cover-style which was almost identical with ours." Apparently the New Leader overlooked the same type of compliment paid them right in their own backyard. The first issue of the American Socialist, organ of the newly created Pablo-Cochranite "Socialist Union of America," is even more flattering to the Stalinophobe New Leader than Janata. The format of the Cochranite magazine, including cover and page layouts, type faces, use of pictures and captions and even the paper it is printed on is about as perfect an imitation of the New Leader as sincere flattery can produce. Shouldn't the Stalinophile editors of the voice of Cochranism demand a note of thanks from the New Leader?

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A BILL TO EXTEND the present two cents a gallon Federal tax on gasoline will be presented to the House because it "would meet the desires" of President Eisenhower. Unless extended, the tax drops to 1½ cents a gallon April 1.

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LIBERALISM IN ACTION. "I believe your union is Communist dominated, and therefore will not meet with you," an Electrical Workers delegation was told, according to the Jan. 9 World Telegram, by none other than that special darling of the liberals, Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.).

WHEN JIM CROW CAUSED A PRISON RIOT PROTEST

By H. Baker

(Second of four articles.)

The Washington State Legislature's Interim Committee recently conducted a public hearing over television on a riot last summer in the Washington State Reformatory at Monroe. The committee announced it would investigate all phases of the tension-packed outbreak to find out who was to blame for the fatal shooting of a young inmate and the injury of three others.

The riot broke out August 20, 1953, at the close of "Yard Out," the recreational period. The youths refused to return to their cells and began to throw rocks and any missile at hand. Windows were broken and fires set to several buildings. The rioters ripped out the telephone conduits and threw the light system out of order. The demonstration resulted in damage of nearly a million dollars.

The Monroe riot began over the disciplining of a Negro inmate, but was a protest in general against racial discrimination in the institution. The slogan was "Break Taylor out of Deadlock."

BEATEN OVER HEAD

Earnest Taylor, a Negro youth, was beaten over the head by a Captain Smith as the latter was forcing the protesting boy into "Deadlock" — a solitary-confinement type f punishment.

The institution doctor who treated Taylor after several hours in "Deadlock" testified that the youth was hysterical, protesting the discrimination he and his race were subjected to. The doctor testified that he told the lad, "You are playing the racial prejudice problem too strong for your own good."

But Taylor's fellow prisoners thought otherwise. All that day they gathered in little groups, very agitated over the treatment given Taylor. Finally, the accumulated resentment burst out.

When the riot flared, the reformatory officials called the State Highway Patrol, Snohomish County deputies, the Snohomish County sheriff and a number of Everett police as well as 15 or 20 King County police officers.

GUNS ISSUED

Captain Jackson of the reformatory issued guns to seven deputies and sent them onto the walls. Jackson testified that he did not want to use gas as he did not want the innocent hurt. He said he did not tell his men either to shoot or not to shoot.

As the demonstrating youthful inmates gathered in the center of the baseball diamond, they were caught in a cross fire from the north and south towers lasting about three minutes. They ran into the brickyard, attempting to protect themselves.

It was there that 21-year-old Walter T. Lyshall was killed and three others injured. Several inmates testified that Lyshall was struck as he approached one of the towers waving his white shirt as a flag.

Officially, no one seems to know where the guards were stationed and which had guns. The officials have closed ranks to protect the murderers of Walter Lyshall.

DAMAGING ADMISSION

Superintendent Paul J. Squier told the press following the fatal shooting that the inmates were storming the gate at the time the shooting occurred. At the televised hearings, he admitted that this was not true, that on the contrary, when the young men were shot they were all several hundred feet from the gate and had no apparent intention of storming the gates.

The riot involved about 200 of the younger inmates of Monroe, who demonstroted against one of the greatest injustices of the American capitalist system in or out of prisons — namely, Jim Crow. These young men felt the abomination of racial discrimination so keenly they could not restrain themselves from acting.

But reformatory officials hypocriticaly ignored or casually denied the charge of these youths that racial discrimination was involved.

Monthly Review Editor Victim of N.H. Witch Hunt

For the past year the Attorney General of New Hampshire has been conducting a witch hunt of its citizens under a 1951 statute, making it a felony punishable by a fine up to $20,000 and twenty years in prison for being a member of a "subversive" organization.

So far, the Attorney General says he has questioned "probably thirty persons." The most recent victim of the inquisition is Paul M. Sweezy, co-editor of the Monthly Review, a magazine of the Stalinist periphery. Mr. Sweezy is a resident of Wilton, N. H.

Sweezy denied past or present membership in the Communist Party and refused to answer additional questions on grounds of principle. He remains under subpoena and faces a possible contempt citation. The constitutionality of the law is scheduled for test in the State Supreme Court on Jan. 22.

The N. Y. Telephone Co., subsidiary of the giant AT&T, has filed for a 10% hike in phone rates. This would add 75 cents a month to private phone bills. Two increases have already been granted them since 1950 for a total of about 50 cents a month. Business rates, they claim soothingly, have been raised "proportionately."

Witch-Hunted

VINCENT HALLINAN, Progressive Party's presidential candidate in 1952, waves goodbye as he leaves San Francisco for McNeil Island penitentiary. A target of the witch hunters, Hallinan is the victim of a politically-motivated charge of income tax evasion.

Hallinan Jailed By Witch Hunters For 'Tax Evasion'

How far the Republicans and Democrats are prepared to go in their witch-hunt drive against all radical-minded political opposition is shockingly illustrated in the persecution of Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party. Having railroaded him to prison on Jan. 8 on a tax-evasion charge, the witch hunters now seek to disbar him on grounds of "moral turpitude."

When given an 18-month sentence last December, Hallinan announced that he would not appeal the tax-evasion conviction although he was innocent. He said that such an appeal would go to the same Circuit Court which had previously handed down a strongly biased decision against him on an appeal from a contempt charge, and had also voted to sustain the conviction of Harry Bridges, West Coast longshore leader whom Hallinan had defended. An appeal to such a body, he said, would be costly and futile.

In the Dec. 21 National Guardian, Hallinan declared: "When one is under indictment or sentence, he is like a man with cancer — all his activities are paralyzed by that circumstance. Better get it out and over with and go on from there. Going to jail is like dying — you do it once and you never worry about it so much again."

Teachers Buck Witch Hunters In Los Angeles

By Louise Manning

Beginning the year with a triple attack against the civil liberties of the people of Los Angeles, three government bodies, the Los Angeles Board of Education, the Superior Court, and the State Committee on Un-American Activities acted together to force teachers and utility workers to appear before boards of inquisition, and to fire them if they used their Constitutional right to refuse to answer questions.

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, nationaly known educator, told to the press in answer to the witch hunters: "To cite a teacher to answer questions about his loyalty, thus damaging him in advance of a hearing, to refuse to let him know the charges against him or confront his accusers, and to discharge him for declining to answer questions that on their face are impertinent, is an un-American invasion of his rights, and another step in the process of making the teachers of Los Angeles second-class citizens."

This statement arose out of the firings of teachers under the Dilworth Act, which gives the Board of Education the authority to dismiss teachers who exercise their rights under the Constitution of refusing to answer questions regarding their views and opinions.

At the same time, the Superior Court on Jan. 7 upheld the firing of Mrs. Eisenberg, a high school teacher who lost her job as a result of hearings held by the State Committee on Oct. 28, 1952. Also entering the picture were a series of new hearings by the State Committee on Un-American Activities headed by Senator Burns, which on Jan. 5 began a five-day probe into alleged subversive activities among teachers and public utility workers. This resulted in turning up more victims for firings.

Many of those forced to appear before the committee chose to risk victimization rather than give up their rights as citizens and their integrity as teachers.

According to the Jan. 9 Los Angeles Times, Mrs. Charlotte Appel, a substitute teacher in the elementary schools, refused to answer questions about alleged membership in the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the Militant Labor Forum. However Mrs. Appel distributed a statement to the press denying membership in the Communist Party, and disagreeing with their views, but she continued, "I feel they have a right to express their views free from the threat of persecution. I feel that the current trend toward thought control which this committee exemplifies is the greatest menace to our civil rights and liberties."

In the public utilities field people who had been employed for as many as 30 years were brought before the committee, showing that the menace of McCarthyism respects neither tenure nor ability, but is growing to include wide areas of employees who thought they had secure jobs.

Under the pretext of ferreting out subversives, the committee took a stab at Local 430 of the American Federation of Teachers whose charter was revoked by the AFL in 1948 because of alleged Communist domination. The real reason for the attack against the union was shown by one of the witnesses who stated, "I recall there was literature about anti-discrimination and housing bills. I felt such practice tended to tear down institutions that should be perpetuated in the American way of life."

The testimony given by "friendly" witnesses was used as an excuse for another visit of the Committee in March in order to investigate defense and other California industries. **Thus each visit lays the basis for further visits which are gradually moving into the mass industries for the purpose of smashing the unions.**

"Stop McCarthy" Plan in Congress Ends in Fiasco

(Continued from page 1)

of the GOP, with some White House help, maneuvers itself into a balance-of-power position on the powerful Federal Communications Commission." (Robert G. Spivak, Jan. 17.)

Editorially, the Post makes some bitter comments: "The determination of the Eisenhower Administration to secure peace with McCarthy at almost any price, however, is dismally matched by the capitulation of top-ranking Democrats. . . There appears to be bi-partisan agreement that McCarthy is a luxury every politician must learn to afford." They end the editorial entitled, "Air Pollution," with some strong words: "The Lee appointment is a challenge to the whole system of free communication in America. The President dishonored himself when he made the appointment; the Democrats will disgrace themselves if they fail to fight it unitedly, and with all the recources at their command."

When it becomes clear to even the N.Y. Post that the so-called anti-McCarthy wings of the Republican and Democratic parties are "capitulating to McCarthy," when will the labor officials wake up to this elementary fact? How many betrayals? How many fiascos? And how many tragic defeats are required to drive home the lesson: **The capitalist parties cannot and will not fight McCarthyism.**

The 1954 elections are getting closer. Will the labor officials continue to blindly lead the unions behind the capitulators to McCarthy and Taft-Hartleyism?

If we judge by their present deeds, the labor officials will not learn the lesson of independent political action until they are in McCarthy's concentration camps. And even then it is doubtful. If we had to depend on Reuther and Meany, it would be a hopeless cause. But we don't have to depend on them. **As a matter of fact, the whole strategy of a successful fight against McCarthyism depends on counting the "leadership" of the great labor statesmen out to start with.**

THE RANK AND FILE

What then is left? The mass pressure, initiative and power of organization of the rank and file of American workers. This power, organized under the leadership of a new left-wing movement is the only force that can put McCarthyite reaction on the defensive and labor on the offensive.

The Socialist Workers Party will enter the 1954 elections with the express aim of talking to the tens of thousands of union militants who want action, who are seeking a way to overthrow the dead weight of the union officials and move out on the broad highway of building an independent Labor Party. That's why every anti-fascist and every class-conscious worker must rally to the 1954 election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party right now. The campaign work of the SWP is a year round proposition. And the current anti-fascist campaign of the party is the best preparation for a successful election campaign next fall.

Ford Local 600 Warns Labor

(Continued from page 1)

mobs have a more organized and more cohesive national machinery. A victory for Velde in Detroit would open the door for McCarthy and McCarthyism to follow up and consolidate their forces. Locally it would give Coughlin the green light.

The stage is set for a showdown between labor and McCarthyism. The issue is the survival of democratic rights in Michigan. Everything must be done to assure a victory for labor. A 100% united front of the Detroit and national labor movement must be forged. The unions should go on the offensive. The Committee must be given the hottest reception in its entire history.

REFUSE COOPERATION

The Detroit auto workers know how to organize effective, militant actions. They are the inventors of some of the most advanced tactics of the modern labor movement. Let this know-how be used at this critical moment.

Detroit labor must refuse to cooperate with the Velde Committee. The clear purpose of this Committee is union smashing and there can be no compromise with that. The refusal of subpoenaed witnesses to deal with Velde should be backed up by the mobilization of the union ranks for decisive action in overwhelming force at the first hostile anti-union move of the Committee.

The resolution of the Ford Local calls for meetings and "all other means of publicity available" to combat the Committee. We trust that these "means of publicity" include the economic power of labor, its strike weapon, and its historic right to assemble in great masses, and voice its opposition to the witch-hunting, anti-labor House Un-American Committee.

LESSONS OF 1952

The House Un-American Committee came to Detroit in February 1952. It was then headed by Congressmen Wood of Georgia. The Committee centered its attack on Ford Local 600. It had the support of the press, radio, and all the anti-unions agencies of the employers. Every race-hating, union-baiting fascist element in Detroit mobilized behind the Committee.

Soon it became clear that the top leadership of the UAW-CIO was deliberatly and disloyally remaining silent and allowing the Ford Local to take all the attacks without lifting a finger to help them. The Ford Local fought back with all its power. It maintained a militant unity within its own ranks and in the plant. But the treacherous silence of the Reutherite tops, opened the way for the Committee to whip up an unprecedented hysteria and lynch spirit in the Michigan area. The rats came out of hiding. Hangman's ropes appeared in some plants. Militants were attacked. Union stewards were fired for refusing to act as stoolpigeons for the Un-American Committee. Professionals and students were purged from jobs and schools. Tenants suspected of "subversion" were threatened with eviction. The atmosphere of Detroit and Michigan was heavy with the odor of a lynching bee.

Seizing this moment, the reactionaries rushed through the Michigan state legislature the notorious Trucks Law, one of the worst anti-labor laws to yet be placed on the books. The Trucks Law packages the usual witch-hunt provisions with clauses that would clearly outlaw strikes. The "sabotage" clause is so worded that it applies to any number of actions normal to any strike.

The hysteria-charged atmosphere enabled the drafters of the bill to introduce a clause providing the death penalty for acts of "sabotage" resulting in fatalities. Under this clause, if a group of scabs attacked a picket line and fatal injuries resulted in the fight, it could be used as a pretext for mass executions of strikers. However, the State Constitution of Michigan clearly prohibits the death penalty, so the bill was changed to provide a 20-year prison penalty instead.

DEMOCRATS WENT ALONG

The Trucks Law passed without a single dissenting vote! Not one of labor's Democratic "friends" had the courage to stand up against the heat of the red-hunting hysteria engendered by the Un-American Committee's inquisition.

Toward the end of the hearings in March 1952, it became evident that Reuther was not merely standing by in criminal silence while the Ford Local was attacked. One of the UAW-CIO International representatives, Lee Romano, appeared before the Committee March 11 as a "friendly" witness. Romano acted as an informer and finger man against the Ford Local and cooperated with the Committee in its frame-up attempt. Obviously he was acting with Reuther's agreement.

And then came the foulest crime in the entire record of Reuther. On March 12, four hours after the Un-American Committee concluded its hearing, Reuther pounced on the embattled Ford Local and placed an Administrative Board over them. He demanded that the officers of Local 600 appear before a new inquisition committee, this time composed of Reuther officials to "show cause" why they should not be removed from office. Taking his cue from the witch-hunting House Un-American Committee, Reuther attempted to utilize the moment to move in on the Ford Local and rid himself once and for all of a militant force in the union, critical of his policies.

FORD LOCAL FOUGHT BACK

Ford Local 600 fought back. They defeated the attempt to place a dictatorship over their local. But Reuther's jackal attack on the Ford workers remains a model of divisive treachery in the face of the common enemy of unionism.

Contrast this tragic episode in Detroit with the recent example of the San Francisco Longshoremen. Anyone who knows the Longshoremen's local in San Francisco knows that it is not controlled by the Stalinists. Its leadership, by and large, has the same political views as Reuther. And yet, in the face of Velde's Committee it united and struck at the anti-union menace with all its force. As a result, not only was Velde unable to mount a serious witch-hunting campaign against the Longshoremen, but a counter-campaign against the Velde Committee gained momentum.

Which will it be for Detroit this time — San Francisco, Dec. 1953, or Detroit, March 1952?

One Ford worker in Detroit summed up the task of the unions in a single sentence during the discussion on the Velde Committee's scheduled visit. He said, "Cadillac Square has been empty too long."